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THE Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,
(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,
(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,
(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and
(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

INDIA'S PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.,

And going further south, at Cuddalore
Upon the banks of pure Pinakini
Lord Shiva gave to sages ecstacy.
While at Srimushnam in the form of boar
Wlth earth on tusks God from sea's depth did soar.
Not far beyond occurred the mystery
Of sweet Sambandha blessed by Parvathi
With milk divine that gave the heavenly lore.
Close by there riseth Shiva's holy shrine
Where He doth heal the endless maladies
Of bodies and of souls with matchless might.
And near in cultured loveliness doth shine
The town to which both purity and peace
Are brought by sweet Kaveri pure and bright.

A Cynic's Cyclopædia.

Biography: A poor joke on an absent friend.

***

Bluff: About the only thing one can't put up at a pawnshop.

***

Encore: The grumble of the man who wants more than his money's worth.

***

Gold: A prcious metal once known to have occupied British pockets, but now transferred to American mouths.

***

Jew: A man who kills two birds with one stone, and then wants the stone back.

***

Pessimist: A man who expects to get the worst of it sooner than the rest of us.

***

Philosopher: A person who tries to make the best of other people's troubles.

***

Poetry: A literary gift—chiefly because you can't sell it.

***

Politeness: An air-cushion for easing life's jolts.

***

Rumour: The most deadly of all microbes ; it is all tales, and most of them have a sting : it attacks well and ill, and always makes them worse than they were before.

***

Spinster: The only kind of woman who knows how to manage men. That is way she stays a spinster.

***

Strategy: Finding the enemy's weak spot before he finds ours.

***

Synonym: What you use when you can't spell the word you ought to use.

***

Verdict: (Law); The opinion of twelve men on n subject they don't understand.

***

Wisdom: Knowing how ignorant we are, and keeping the knowledge to ourselves.

Events of the Week.

The "Madras Mail" assures us that "the Viceroy is not a puppet." Who ever thought that Lord Reading was a ruler who could rise beyond the respect for forms and allegiance to official suzerainty which makes a subordinate administrator assume the airs of a superior person over those who are placed below him? Lord Curzon was the most masterful Viceroy that ever occupied the Viceregal throne. But he had at least some sympathy for the Indian poverty-stricken masses and millions. Lord Reading has out-Heroded Herod. He has also the blood of the few, which never has arisen beyond a social conception of morality to that personal sentiment or emotion which can discard or transcend the letter of the law in order to extend the fellowship of the human heart to a fallen land and its suffering or starving millions. That Lord Reading can care for his country's power and prestige and his countrymen's stable pre-eminence in this country with its purely "subordinate Government" and dependent and feeble millions is, to all Indians with any sane power of common sense discrimination, a foregone conclusion. We feel only amusement mingled with pity for those Indian politicians, whatever their party, who think that a "constitutional crisis" has arisen in consequence of Lord Reading's Government. Lord Reading is a master of laws and constitutions, and is never likely to place himself in the wrong, according to the letter of the law or constitution. The truth is that there is no unity of sentiment or action among Indian politicians, and no real national sentiment of patriotism. Hence, they have proved a failure from the advent to this country of Mr. Montagu's mission to the present day. Whether co-operators, or non-co-operators the Indian politicians can only advance their country's interests when they learn the value of unanimity. South Indian politics has become a bye-word all over the civilised world, and why? Our parties and politicians are *mostly* self-seeking place and title hunters! Let us put an end to this disgraceful state of things first, and learn the value of a self-denying spirit which cares only for the advancement of the interests and the freedom of the people.

* * *

If Dr. Gour and other members of the Legislative Assembly had been able to score a victory in respect of the preventing of the Salt Tax Enhancement from inclusion in the Finance Bill, that would have been a victory indeed! Here they failed, and they failed also in preventing the financing of the Royal Commission from Indian revenues. Never have we seen greater incompetence and even impotence in members of a Legislative Assembly professing to represent constituencies which form part of the electorate of a great continent! If their votes in the Assembly had commanded the respect of the Viceroy and his Government, that would have been a matter for rejoicing, indeed. But we do not see what ground for rejoicing there is in passing the Civil Marriage Bill to ruin the decaying and disabled remnant of our ancient system of Varnas! Several South Indian Brahmins seem to have voted in favour of its becoming law. Nowhere has the Brahmin degenerated so much as in South India, the chosen home of Theosophy and of the coming Avatar or Star of the East! We think it need not surprise any one that Mrs. Besant's wonderfully popular organ and "thunderer" of *New India* should have come forward to "congratulate the Assembly" on its success in passing this measure. We are, in this connection, unfailingly reminded of Macaulay's picture of "a cloud of Indian crows pecking a sick vulture to death." Our *legislative* "crows" in the Assembly need not, in our view, be very proud of this wonderful achievement of theirs—not even the matchless Brahmin lawyers who have traversed a whole continent and taken their influential places in this powerful and patriotic "Assembly" up in the heavenly North and in the "Indraprastha" of today!

* * *

We cannot understand what this Indian deputation of "legislative" magnates are going to do for Indians in England. No doubt, the Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri leads the deputation, and that is a guarantee that it will be received courteously and heard with attention. But do the Indians suffer in Kenya or elsewhere in the Dominions, because their claims and case have not been fully made out and made known to the white Governments and white people inhabiting them, or even to the Imperial Government and Electors of Great Britain. The truth was proclaimed long ago by so great an Englishman as the late Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury when he had the unmannerly and unmanly audacity of calling Dadabhai Naoroji himself a "*black man*"! We have met Dadabhai and known him at close quarters, and can proclaim our conviction that he was fairer than most of the Englishmen we have met in this country. And yet one who was formerly occupying the responsible office of British Premier offered him this gratuitous insult in a manner worthy of John Bull and the British Lion combined into one! It is no wonder that these white Colonials, still at the commencement of their upstart career as free and independent peoples should despise us as "black men" on account of our political dependence and subjection. It is only when we have risen to the same political status as they occupy in the British Empire that they will learn to respect us or concede to us equal rights in their "Dominion" and Colony. Hundreds of Indian Deputations to Great Britain—or even to the Colonies themselves—will not improve our position and status as citizens, unless we learn to practice justly towards each other and achieve unity and cohesion among the Indian people here. It is the blunders and irresponsibility of our leaders that bring ruin to the cause of India's advance to the achievement of our legitimate status as citizens of the British Empire. The Indian political parties and their leaders covered themselves with ignominy when their Deputations proceeded to London in the year 1919 to state their claims for "responsible Government" before the Joint Committee of Parliament which then sat to devise a scheme of Reform. It will be a century before we can regain the position then lost before the eyes of the people of Great Britain and her Colonies and Dominions. Since then, our doings here have not improved matters a bit! India's case for advance is lost or gained by what we say, and do *here*. Let our politicians and parties—even the heaven-sent "new *ruling* class" in South India—realise this simple and elementary truth or "truism" in all that they proclaim in their party manifestoes so-called, or their declarations on public measures in their places in the Council or elsewhere. Few Indians, however highly educated they may be, have yet understood what is really meant by such ordinary political terms as *party, power*, or *rule*, &c., and yet, they behave as if they have gained the summit of human ambition for themselves and secured for their country its rightful place among the communities of the Empire, simply because they have secured some offices and titles for some and deprived others of the same or their opportunities of securing them! Can thoughtless folly and self-sufficiency descend to lower depths!

* * *

The *Pioneer* understands that the Government of India have definitely decided to accept the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee to abolish the posts of Public Health Commissioner and Director of Medical Research. Arrangements are being made, it is believed, for a certain amount of medical research work to be continued under restricted conditions and some of the duties of the Public Health Commissioner will be performed in the Directorate of the Indian Medical Services.

* * *

From the statement of receipts and disbursements of the Tilak Swarajya fund, which has been published, from 23rd December, 1921, to 18th December, 1922, it appears that the balance left on hand at the end of the year was Rs. 3,98,020-9-11½. The disbursements during the year amounted Rs. 4,58,813-4-7, which included grants amounting to Rs. 3 lakhs to the All-India Khaddar Department and of Rs. 95,000 to the provinces. There was very little addition to the fund during the year, and the opening balance was reduced by over Rs. 3 lakhs. There was, however, a balance in hand of Rs. 3,38,788 of the Khaddar Fund. The loans advanced to provinces for Khaddar activities amounted to Rs. 80,000.

The Hindu Message

Dharma and Life—Part II.

X—The Education of Indian Women,

In India today we have reached a stage when every question is regarded from what is known as the *modern* and *rational* point of view. Parties are formed to promote causes of all sorts. Party shibboleths, watchwords, and cries and shouts are heard on every side. No one is prepared to bring to the consideration of any single question of the day a single thought relating to how it affects the present or future of the race of man as a whole, or the particular traditions and the mission in the world of the Indian people in particular. Women today enjoy a certain position and rights in Western society, and therefore we in India should not hesitate to introduce the same here lest we should lag behind. Every educated man, so-called, is expected to be prepared to approve of the social position of women in the West, and to condemn the state of things obtaining here. There are not only many avowed and open enemies to the latter, such as Christian missionaries and their allies, the social reformers, who assault it from outside, but untold numbers of foes within the camp who undermine, by insidious and occult methods, the social and domestic status of women now obtaining among Hindus. Many also join the Theosophical Society. The rules of the Society *seem* liberal enough, and not to impose the yoke of ungainly or novel superstition on the human mind. But most of those who join the society end by accepting the baseless and monstrous fictions contained in the writings of Madame Blavatsky, with the interpretations and additions made from time to time by the fertile brain of Mrs. Besant, whose aggressive personality and marvellous command of verbose, but impassioned, language has a strange fascination over the feeble and gullible minds which abound among the South Indians,—and chiefly among the disunited and "educated" Brahmins, who though there are numerous and honourable exceptions, —as a class, form the most unaccomodating, the most unthinking, and the most imperious of the innovators and rebels who now abound everywhere in Hindu society. Mrs. Besant began her career in India by defending Hindu institutions of all kinds and especially those which relate to the status of women,—even such as are fiercely assailed by missionaries and revolutionaries, as, for instance, compulsory and early widowhood. But some years back, she suddenly changed her views and delivered a series of passionate, but pointless, harangues against the entire Hindu social system. Her followers in the Theosophical camp, generally followed her in her change of attitude, forgetting that she had once been an atheist and a radical, and forgetting, too, that, in recent times in England, society has, under the influence of the unchivalrous and prosaic immoralism which finds favour with modern feminism assumed, like the societies of ancient Greece and ancient Rome in their last days of growing feebleness and rapid decline, that they cannot get on without putting into practice their faith in what has been aptly called "the insane doctrine of female emancipation." In truth, however, various causes, chiefly economic, have operated in England to change the status of women in society. Even so recently as a century —or a century and a half —back, women in the west had a social status similar to that of our Indian women. It was the industrial revolution at the commencement of the Nineteenth Century that brought about their entrance into social life. The production of food by machinery in factories rendered it cheaper than woman was able to produce it at home, and so led to the almost entire disuse of cooking at home and the purchase of food at restaurants and other places of sale. The woman was able to utilise her leisure in various occupations, social and industrial, and to take her place constantly by her husband's side in various social pastimes. She has even become the rival and superseder of the male sex in many concerns of life. Moreover, the same growth of wholesale industry on a large scale has enabled Europe to dump the rest of the world with the cheap products of machine-made industry. For carrying on this Satanic work of exploiting and ruining the people and lands which have not developed machine-made industry, women have been attracted to the taking up of factory labour by the offer of high wages,—and we must not also forget that women are everywhere in the majority and also in

the West, where there does not prevail a joint-family system to offer them protection without the need of following a life of self-reliant activity to gain their livelihood. Besides, as we have pointed out previously, the tendency in the West is now-a-days for women to try to avoid the trials of a married life and especially those of maternity and the trouble of rearing children, and hence to detest home life. This is chiefly due to the Western system and idels of female education and female labour. The social system which make women hate the life of the home and the responsibilities arising from marriage and maternity is certainly, in our view, not only unsound, but unnatural. Mr. and Mrs. Whetham, in their joint work on "The family and the nation" say well.—"In considering the physiology and psychology of the race, it seems clear that the stock of human life, our most valuable national asset, must, as in every sound economic system, be divided into two parts representing capital and income. Men represent the income, to be used and spent freely by each succeeding generation as need arises. Women must be considered as capital to be spent sparingly in the present, to be husbanded carefully for the future." Women are, thus the conservers of the safety and strength of the human race and of the societies now existing on the globe. Hence, we should hold in high esteem those skilled and essential womanly duties on the proper performance of which the order, health, cleanliness and comfort of the home depends. The same authors say :—"It cannot be doubted that the quiet home life necessary for the right birth and management of a large family is incompatible with many external activities, and with the gratification of a desire to seek an apparently larger sphere of immediate work and influence in social, industrial, and political life." Hence for both married and unmarried women in the West, the education now given, while it fits them to attain a position of industrial independence and to gain the publicity and fame arising from the pursuit of the wider interests, national and imperial, of active public life, also makes them unfit for the successful performance of true womanly duties and unwilling to undertake "the necessary and wholesome restrictions and responsibilities of normal marriage and motherhood." The Whethams also point out that "in towns and other areas where many women are employed in manual labour, such as places where textile industries are carried on, *the birth-rate is abnormally low*,"—that "*a direct cor-relation can be traced between the freedom of women from industrial occupations and the number of children they produce*,"—that "for the benefit of children, the absence of the mother from the home is to be deplored. Employment that takes her away should be discouraged by every means in our power." It is thus necessary that the home life of Indian women should be preserved, and that no changes should be encouraged simply because they have been adopted in the West. We must never forget that the force of emotion is the strong point in the feminine nature, and that it is the capacity for giving affectionate and self-sacrificing service flowing from that source that makes the home the proper sphere of female influence. The rough strength of man and his love of triumph in an atmosphere of conflict makes him fight like a lion in various external activities. Hence, when he comes home, he eagerly hankers after the peace and comfort which woman's patient care and loving tenderness, provides for him there. In the home, she exercises her freedom and authority in the fullest extent ; in the home her natural quickness to receive impressions and her acute intelligence can have full scope in the pursuit of various avocations, sometimes profitable or involving only the mechanical drudgery of routine, but often requiring circumspection and knowledge of domestic economy and occasionally also the exercise of cultivated aesthetic tastes and accomplishments of diverse kinds. It would be sheer folly to unsex her by removing her from the sphere where she finds full scope for her varied excellences of nature and training and where she can enjoy every legitimate desire for freedom without coming into contact with the license or even the ferocity which characterises the scenes where men have their lots cast and achieve their legitimate triumphs in an atmosphere of strenuous rivalry and contention. By her introduction into the arena of strife, whether it be the forum, the senate, the market place, or the platform, she can only learn how to pervert her charming natural instincts of soft civility and dignified modesty of behaviour, and become an inferior and unattractive type of the masculine nature which she will learn to imitate, and thereby the home will cease to be what it is,—the haven of peace for both man and woman that it is now.

The education given to women must be different in all essential respects from that which is given to men, while at the same time it is calculated to produce those types of noble womanhood—a Maitreyi, Sakuntala, Damayanti, or Draupadi—which the Indian Dharma has always striven to produce. As the natural instinct of the race has tended to provide

a different costume everywhere for women, so also the educational curriculum and methods of training, too, must be different. It is, absurd to suppose that we create thereby any *artificial barriers* of sex ; we only follow the *lead of nature* and the instincts implanted in our race. If, in modern Europe, social "progress," so-called, is clearly in the direction of according to woman full equality of status, civil, social, political, and economical, with man, it does not necessarily follow that that course alone is natural, and that every other method and ideal of womanhood is artificial. It is in our view, an untrue and unnatural education which aims at educating men and women after some common pattern, and not according to their sexual needs and peculiarities. It is an absurd idea of the modern Western world that all knowledge can and ought to be made accessible to all,—that all are fit to receive all truth, if they only have the desire and the capacity to learn for it. The Indian conception of *adhikara* is entirely opposed to this view. For, when once knowledge is obtained, there will be an irresistible tendency to make use of it for the practical purpose of life and for deriving some advantage out of it by its application in some sphere of activity and employment. Let us not forget that it is only the growth of wealth among the masses of the West due to the exploitation of weaker communities by successful war and competitive commerce that has enabled *some* women there to devote themselves to the duties of the home and family life. Otherwise there would be increased competition in all gainful, employments through the intrusion of women, and this would have resulted in the lowering of wages and the consequent lowering of vitality of life for all. Let us also remember that women in the West have been excluded *by law* from work in mines, and that natural disabilities have excluded them from various forms of agricultural labour. All this goes to enforce our contention that men and women have to be educated on different lines and principles, even though they are entitled to receive the same rewards and wages for the production of efficient work of the same order or equal quantity.

We do not purpose to lay dawn a regular curriculum of studies for Indian women,—and especially for Hindu women—at the various stages of their educational advance. We shall only state what are —and what should be—the general lines on which we must determine the system that we have to adopt and carry out in all its details, if we want to prevent the further degeneracy of our Indian womanhood. In the *first* place, women's education must be confined to the Vernaculars. There is an idea abroad—and it prevails chiefly among Europeans—that the very fact that there are so many vernaculars prevailing in the land gives our society the stamp of a semi-civilised culture. Nothing can be more absurd. Our Vernaculars are not to be regarded as rude and uncultivated specimens of what are known as *patois*, like the Irish, Boer, or Welsh which are purely spoken dialects and have no classical or literary models which are worth preserving for ever among the famous treasures of our race. As the days pass, we see how their inherent powers of development and expression are being brought out in full and that all the knowledge of the modern world can be communicated through them in elegant and expressive language and in a style which will be understood by all, whether highly cultured or not, and understood, too, in a manner which will appeal to human hearts, and without producing the sense and impression of being a strange jargon imported from abroad and forced down unwilling throats and on unwilling ears by the fiat of an authority which they cannot set aside or control. In the *second* place, the education must be religious, with a curriculum in which the Sanskrit sources of our religion must play a large and decisive part. We must have again in our households women of the classical type—like the Maitreyis, Sakuntalas, and Damayantis of old, like the Ranis Ahalya Bai and Bhavanis of the mediaeval age—ruling there with influence and dignity as the equals and even the superiors of men in all that contributes to happiness and ruling, too, by their sweetness, tenderness, and powers of loving persuasion and spiritual purity. We do not want in India women of the type so much admired in the West who traverse half a dozen continents in half as many months, who shriek about all sorts of topics ranging from marriage to mysticism, from heaven to hell and from pottery to politics on a thousand platforms, and who fight shoulder to shoulder with men in every arena of life, business, and strife. We do not want also the educated "blue-stocking" and the "sweet girl graduates" trained in Colleges of the type which have converted our men into the disgusting types of denationalisation which abound everywhere at the present day and which have become a byword among all true Hindus who can still appreciate their rich inheritance of character, culture and civilisation. In the *third* place, our women must be trained in all the kinds of knowledge needed to enable them not

only to pass a portion of their time in useful domestic occupation and industry but also to keep the homes healthy and comely and train children and rear them properly, and so they must be taught the elements of sanitary science and sexual physiology, cookery, sewing and knitting, needlework and embroidery, and lastly, drawing and painting. In short, our view is that the education of Indian women must be such as to let her continue what she has always been,—the custodian of our ancient religion and time-honoured customs and *acharas*, and the determined opponent of all revolutionary modes of conduct which will only lead to social corruption and decay. It is better that our women have no education than have an education which will lead to the westernisation of our society and civilisation. Swami Vivekananda has well said:—"India will never be Europe until she dies." To educate Hindu women on Western principles of social equality with men or of their so-called social emancipation without any of the restrictions which, as some people erroneously think would hinder their full freedom of development but which really help to preserve their modesty and purity and charm, would simply amount to the practical destruction of all our ancient national ideals, to the hybridisation of our Indian races, and ultimately to the death of the Sanatana Dharma and the disappearance of all its spiritual methods and aims from the face of the globe.

The Palestine Mandate.

It has ever been contended in these columns that an independent Jewish Palestine is outside the range of practical politics. Apart from sentiment, there are two vital considerations governing the matter which were set forth in our issue of October 6, 1921. The first is, the province, as we know it, is not Jewish and that neither Mohammedan nor Christian Arab would accept Jewish authority; the second is, that the capital Jerusalem is sacred to all the three faiths, and should never, if it can be avoided, be put under the exclusive control of any one faction, local or imported, no matter how-carefully-so-ever the rights of the other two may be safeguarded. And it was then pointed out in these columns that there was good reason for assuming that the individual who investigated conditions in Palestine and Asia Minor generally, in 1917 for the War Office made a substantially similar report.

The telegraphic reports in the daily press of the debate in the House of Lords on the Palestinian Mandate indicate that though the new ministry of Mr. Bonar Law keeps a characteristically open mind here also, the Cabinet have not realised how the outside world stands aghast at the amazing Zionist fervour of the British Government. The Duke of Devonshire made two interesting statements: namely, that the people had successfully adopted a policy of non-co-operation in the primary elections and rendered them a farce. And he made the further admission that it would be "difficult" to publish the correspondence on the matter. We shall refer to this later on. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that the Secretary of State of the Colonies spoke of the new constitution as a real step towards self-government.

It is this argument that we propose to tackle here. We have already in a previous issue given a summary of the new constitution and shown the defects thereof. The essence of the scheme, it may be useful to recall here, is that the Council of Palestine is so composed that the weight of votes is in favour of the Zionist Executive and even the minority of Arabs are to be nominated by Sir Herbert Samuel. And now we have before us the most recent census of the population of Palestine: and we give below the figures with the cautionary remark that the number of Jews shown includes the number of those who have recently been imported into the country with the obvious object of swamping the native Arabs of the Mohammedan and Christian persuasions.

(*a*)	Moslems,	589,564
(*b*)	Jews,	83,794
(*c*)	Christians,	73,026
(*d*)	Druzes,	7,028
(*e*)	Samaritans,	163
(*f*)	Bahais,	265
(*g*)	Metawallis,	156
(*h*)	Hindus	1,454, and
(*i*)	Sikhs	408:—Total, 765,858.

The last two communities probably are of the Army of Occupation. It is for the reader to assess the Duke of Devonshire's first step in self-government in the light of the census figures above and the monopolistic rights granted to the Jew in the political and economic life of the country.

That the Arabs have good ground for adopting a policy of non-co-operation is well illustrated by the policy pursued by the mandatory power. A powerful index thereto is furnished in the press of a neutral country. America for example. American Zionists believe that the principle of a Jewish homeland is fully safeguarded, and Dr. S. Bernstein wrote at the time in the *New Palestine* of New York that the Jewish New Year then ended—5682—"marked the end of the exile." And of the precious constitution of which the noble Duke waxed so eloquent at secondhand, the learned Jewish Doctor says, "is based on the assumption that, with the concurrence of the League of Nations, the present minority shall, in the not distant future cease to be a minority. The principle of the Jewish National Home has been included in a permanent form within the constitution, and is part of it:—it is therefore, *an integral part of the internal policy* of the country." And this is Self-Determination! Finally, Dr. Bernstein bids his fellow-Jews be of good cheer, for "a principle which has been made part and parcel of a constitution must remain forever one of its elements." Well might Lord Islington talk of an unnatural and partial altruism—if indeed it be altruism on Great Britain's part which is incredible.

The Salt Tax and After.

The expected, we think we are right in saying, has happened and the Viceroy has certified the Salt tax after its rejection a second time by the Assembly. Some members of the Assembly who rejected the tax sent up a laborious memorandum to the Viceroy on the subject : and the Viceroy has himself, raised a whole dust of crucial controversies in his amazing explanation for having had recourse to the certifying procedure. Not much good can flow in discussing the constitutionality of the procedure. Our distinguished fellow-countrymen, the Co-operating Nationalists as the *Bengalee* might style them, may seek to save their faces by such indications of self-deception ; but the vast majority, who are convinced that the Reforms are only an eyewash and seek to perpetuate in this country, under elaborate pretences, an English-cum-Indian autocracy, need no such soft sawder. The Viceroy would really not have lost anything if he had the good sense to recognise that nobody is moony enough to be taken in by his complacent assurance that every avenue has been explored with a view to avoid a deficit. We know and the country knows it that it is not so. Sir Montagu Webb for once spoke the voice of the country when he put this resort to certification as due to political myopia.

It is worth, in our opinion, to recall the ampler background of this certification. Neither House of the central legislature was told anything about what was in store. That it lay very much on the surface was no answer or excuse for the petulant anger exhibited against the Houses of Legislature. The Indian Legislature had an abrupt ending : and an atmosphere of mystery hung around the Government's last act, as a contemporary draws our attention to. Sir Malcolm Hailey was absent the while from the Assembly, especially when important bills were being passed ; and the Council of State anxiously assembled at 5 O'clock to participate in the grave constitutional crisis. But nothing happened. The Government had no statement to make. Leisurely, a day or even two later, came the Gazette of India extraordinary, unfolding a tale of obstinate heedlessness of popular opinion in the governing men.

It is hard to resist the impression that the strings were pulled and pulled vigorously from Whitehall. Not that the Viceroy had in the years he has been amongst us evinced any, very tearful concern for the masses of the people : the much paraded flag of "Justice" had long been trampled in the melee and the hubbub of the Prince's visit. Ominous shadows of the coming certificate had been seen on the floor of the House of Commons. Colonel Wedgood put a question in Parliament on the salt tax and was replied in almost identical terms to those held by Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Assembly on Tuesday last. The process of certification, we are now told, is not at all exceptional but normal, and that the provision was there not as an ornament but as a weapon of daily use if the co-operators should refuse to be good boys and to do the bureaucrat's biddings.

There is naturally much flutter in half our political world: and the agitated M. L. A's feelings are no way soothed by the unmanly gibes against them by those in a position to tell them, I told you so. We do not set much store by Sir M. De P. Webb's hope that Parliament will set things all right. Mother Besant, we see, is willing to undertake the arduous labours of again seeing a party through under her wings. It seems to us that both political tactic and self-respect dictate only one course to the really patriotic politician. As Captain Sassoon scornfully said, they might perhaps be better employed elsewhere.

Anglo-Indians consider it degrading to them that an Indian Christian family of blameless character should "play the part of a good Samaritan" to an English child of seven, *Doris Hawker* by name, whom her mother placed in its charge in order evidently to rescue her from "one of the homes in England." Mr. and Mrs. Bentinck have paid Rs. 600 as the child's passage money, and resolved generously to educate her. What have they got in return? Mr. Bentinck rightly says : —"the fuss made over the matter is very surprising." The British Community rises like one man and objects to the child being brought up in this amiable and truly Christian home. Everybody is up in arms against what is called 'the fate of Doris Hawker." The Madras Commissioner of Police promptly takes action, and has her "promptly removed from the Portuguese Street atmosphere" in George town. The Madras Government commends Mr. Hannyngton for his action, and is said to be taking such measures as would prevent a repetition of the Doris Hawker case. What harm can there be if an English child is brought up in an Indian Christian home ? We cannot understand how "any grave moral principle" can be "involved" in this matter,— when, as Mr. Bentinck says, that "many English women marry Hindus and Mahomedans and come to live in India,—the men not even converted to Christianity." The upshot of the matter at the present stage is that, owing to the "fuss" made by the Europeans in Madras and in the Anglo-Indian press, Doris Hawker has been removed—"*rescued*," is the word used in some quarters—from the care of Mr. and Mrs. Bentinck by the Police to the Maternity Hospital,— to be later, perhaps, sent back to England, or elsewhere, where the Government and the European Community in Madras, think she can be brought up according to what they consider to be the proper and safe method of bringing up an English child. The case is not without its lesson for Indians and Indian families of rank and station, and let us hope that they will truly understand its significance and bearings on our own social and cultural life in India.

We gave some time ago some interesting titbits from the Inchcape Report. We give below a summary of the main recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in regard to the Post and Telegraph department. After reviewing the expenditure of the two departments, they recommend:—(1) Steps be taken to maintain a strict relation between the telegraph staff employed and the work performed, and to improve the average output ; (2) the use of motor services be restricted in future to large towns and important lines carrying heavy mails ; (3) outside tenders be obtained for the construction of all large Postal and Telegraph buildings ; (4) house rent

and local allowances be reviewed and economic rents charged for all staff accommodation provided, subject to the ordinary rule as to limit of salary; (5) the reserve stock of constructional and general stores be limited to nine months supply; (6) contracts for clothing be dealt with at a central office, the scales of clothing provided be reviewed and the period between issues extended where possible; (7) a financial adviser be associated with the Director General to assist in the control of existing and future expenditure; (8) the budget estimate for 1923—24, for the Posts and Telegraphs Department be limited to Rs. 8,82,00,000, including Rs. 1,22,000 transferred from the Indo-European Telegraphs Department, a reduction of Rs. 1,37,27000, and (9) the capital expenditure on the Telegraph Department be limited to Rs. 94,30,000, a reduction of Rs. 50,70,000. Of how this has fared in the Budget we shall speak later.

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Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the new Mahatma on whose Atlantean shoulders has fallen all the work that was so splendidly carried on by the original Mahatma, does not seem to be getting on well in his pregrinations. The soul may be alright, but the feet at least now and then show signs of being made of clay. Sometime ago, referring to the cry raised that no proper accounts were furnished of Congress funds and their disbursement, he cavalierly said that they had no time for accounting as all their energies were concentrated—or ought to be?—on the fight for Svaraj. A clever, lawyer-like reply no doubt, but rather unconvincing and now we have before us a bit of an interesting conversation he had with the President of the District Congress and Khilafat Committees at Dinajpur. The President seems to have hinted at the imprudence of fixing a time limit for all these diversified and stupendous programmes. Mr. Rajagopalachari, in that wise way of his, practically suggests in reply that the Congress assigns the time-limit, not because it believes that within that time-limit its resolutions have a fair chance of being carried out, but simply to arouse hope in the country. This almost machiavellian strategy and the frank expression thereof seems to have flabbergasted the *Tribune* which says, "we never understood this to be Mahatma Gandhi's meaning." Our contemporary has our sympathies, but alas! to such a pass have things drifted. The *Tribune* goes on to say that the Mahatmaji's mistake was only a mistake of calculation, of an excess of enthusiasm. Mr. Rajagopalachari, on the other hand, seems in favour of assigning the limit merely as a matter of expediency. Apart from the questionable nature of this method from the point of view of non-co-operation, the fact is quite clear that, if expediency is the determining factor, its verdict has already gone against Mr. Rajagopalachari's party. The time-limit has done incalculable damage to the old party and has been more largely responsible for bringing about the prevailing state of reaction than almost anything else the *Tribune* knows of. We say amen.

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We have once in these columns exhaustively dealt with the new Egyptian treaty and how it is a clear travesty of what Egypt demands as a just right of hers. The wires inform us that the important man who has stood for the symbol of Egyptian Nationalism, Zaghloul Pasha, has now been released from Gibralter where he was virtually a state prisoner. We would fain hope this is a sign of returning sanity and that a new chapter will open in Anglo-Egyptian relations, which will be productive of good in the near East.

Medical.

Why Eatables are not to be sold.

By P. V. Jagadesa Aiyar.

It is the belief with many of the Hindus that eatables should not be sold for money and that if any one did so, he will have to remain for a time on certain levels of hell after his death. Further the money obtained from sale of food, cakes and in fact of all eatables is considered a gain of sin and hence could not be conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the individual earning it. There is also the belief that prosperity attained from sale of eatables and food would be but of a very short duration lasting not even one generation whereas the gain resulting from meritorious actions of self-sacrifice and service to the country and humanity is believed to be capable of conferring lasting good on the individual and his heirs.

In other countries, no importance is attached to such beliefs simply because the principle underlying this fine custom of the Hindus is not understood. They think that food obtained, no matter from whatever place, is welcome provided it is palatable and satisfies the hunger. This is perhaps the opinion based from a standpoint lacking in the finer emotional element. The question at issue is whether is there or is there not a difference between food given from loving hands and that given with a feeling of disdain or hate. The great woman saint of India, Auvaiyar, has distinctly stated that starving is perhaps preferable to food obtained from unloving hands. The beauty of home life and domestic bliss and happiness lies in the simple fact the fare though poor is homely prepared and given by loving hands, the mother in the case of children, and wife in the case of the husband. Can the keeper of a hotel or public inn feed the people going to him in the loving spirit in which it is given to one in his house? Most assuredly not, and consequently the food partaken of there, cannot go to build up finer emotions of love, etc., in man generally resulting in the participation of food from loving people. If this fact is once understood, the principle which condemns the sale of food will appear clear and reasonable. Food sold carries with it the magnetism of thirst for gain which is in other words a feeling of grasping and not of sacrifice and loving gift. This is bad for the giver and the given, since the Hindu ideal of real living is one of giving and not grasping, in all things and much worse so in food-stuffs. Further with an eye to gain profits, the hotel keeper loses what feeling of love for people he has.

Food taken from unloving hands builds up in the partaker thereof the mental magnetism going to destroy the finer feeling of love. In fact if a man though possessing a family of children, spends some years in a hotel, he runs the danger of losing perhaps his affectionate feelings towards his loved ones. Simi-

larly one though he may not have the requisite affection for the members of his family at first, may in course of time become much attached to them by the steady force of love manifested through homely meal prepared and given him by affectionate hands. Thus a seller of food, etc., cuts off a useful source for the manifestation of love in those frequenting him and hence stands condemned.

Miscellaneous.

Monopoly of Elective Seats.

By W. Doraswamy Iyer.

Change is the spice of life and the enemy of stagnation. Change is the essence of democracy and monopoly be it of birth, money, or status, is but another name for oligarchy or autocracy. From the Viceroy and Governors and Executive Councillors down to the District Munsiffs, Deputy Tahsildars, and Sub Magistrates each must and has to give way to his successor in a place after a few years. That is, this kind of healthy transfer has a salutary effect on the officers themselves on the one hand and also prevents their prejudices and vested interests coming into play for a long time in the same place thereby affecting some or many people there. This should apply with no less logic or force to the honorary offices also in which certain posts are indefinitely held, leechlike, by the same individuals, however high they may be. I read somewhere of president Washington the Father and First President of U. S. A. that when pressed to accept the Presidency for the third time, he mildly remonstrated with the electors saying that it is undemocratic to monopolise that distinguished place and even if offered that Presidenship for life, he would respectfully refuse it even with greater emphasis, for power concentrated in one individual, however eminent he may be, may make him also wish to bequeathe the same to his son or heir and thus the Republic itself may seem to endorse the hereditary and monarchic doctrines which would be a retrograde step to the Republic of U. S. A. He also begged his country's future Presidents and Electors to remember his words and not to have one individual for more than two terms.—From that time to this day, this unwritten law of his was never transgressed for good. Bravo. U. S. A.

Coming now to our common Municipal Councils and Local Boards, some members cling to their seats with simian grasp time after time for two or even three decades together. They would not allow others to successfully compete them for our Indian people are inherently conservative and averse to change. These honorary officers also enthroned on prestige are too stiffnecked to bend unlike in the Western Countries. Witness for instance how President Taft and Premier George mingle with the common people as soon as they are out of office. We have also heard how that famous Gladstone who used to travel in the third class (not unlike our own Mahatma Gandhi) when questioned, coolly replied that he did so because there was no fourth class! Also he would fell trees in his garden and wield the axe well. Such is the love and dignity of labour with them. I wonder how many of our retired High Court Judges or Vakils or Pensioned District officials would commonly mingle with our low-class countrymen, let alone their physical labor! Lord Curzon, whose night special train, going to Delhi Durbar was honoured with torch-light rows on either side by the poor village menials, what was his fate when he collided with another (hired) motor car in the streets of London? Why, the quondam Viceroy was fined a few pounds for putting dazzling head-lights to his motor car! Ah, such is the contrast between India and England. All this is said just to show that the mass awakening in India is not yet enough to force down the Upper Ten and make them find their level with their common brethren.

It would be a very salutary rule to pass that no person shall be allowed to stand for election to an honorary appointment for more than two consecutive terms. But if absolutely necessary with a break of one term in the middle, he may renew his electioneering attempts. This restriction of two terms, I think, already applies to Government nominations to honorary offices, But of course, it may well be retorted that such rsetrictions oughtnot to be placed for *elections* made by the people! True. But we are indulging in a false analogy. For, may I ask, how many are the nomination seats in the House of Commons, or Municipal Corporations or County Councils in England? Oh, no, Absolutely none. For there the Government and the people are one But here in India from the Imperial and Provincial down to the Municipal Councils and Local Boards only three-fourths are to be elected and the rest to be nominated by Government with officials, civil or military, retired or serving and also with the so-called non-officials indebted to the Government in some way or other or likely to come under their influence of titles and honors. I say the analogy of England and India is unfair to say the least of it. Why should, I ask, the *nominated* Councillors, who form the fourth of the strength, be allowed to *elect* a Chairman. Let them not have votes for the Chairman's election; for it is they, in many cases. that turn the scales in favour of the existing person. But as this reservation of the nomination seats for the benefit of the so-called unrepresented minorities cannot yet be dispensed with, let there be a legislative restriction that no honorary offices, at least Presidentships, should be held by any person for more than two consecutive terms or say six years in the aggregate. I say only some such rule or law can prevent the present monopoly and ensure the future sharing of all citizens in the civic honor of the First Place viz, Chairmanship. I am told that in Bombay Corporation, the Presidentship, by common understanding, goes by rotation year after year to the four chief nationalists of Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and Europeans. Oh Madras! Won't you take a lesson.

I am also against one and the same person holding a number of honorary offices at the same time doing little justice to any of them. It would be better if not more than two such appointments are held by an individual simultaneously: for if it is desirable that as many people as are willing and available, are trained in these self-governing institutions so that the general average experience of the citizen will increase unlike the present arrangement which engenders only a few persons—The Great Common Factor—to enjoy all authority and responsibility!

There is also another point which I wish to lay stress upon and that is, that electing a councillor for three years, the constituency has at present, no power to chuck him out if he betrays their interests within that period. Such a power is given to the electors in the Western Countries, but they may rarely use it for the member himself will have the sense to seek re-election or else resign once for all, as did the celeberated Burke, when his views collided against the votors. But our Councillors would not vacate even if shoved out—let alone their resignation.

Our Co-operative Societies' Bye-Laws have provided such a power to the General Body Members against the Board of Directors whom they elect annually, and m[illegible] also unseat any or all of them at any time within that year if the majority of the General Body wills it. Our Municipal Act can very usefully be amended in the light of the democratic by-laws of Co-operative Banks in which there is also no bar of sex for membership or even directorship.

I woul also suggest that in all elections—uncontested ones included—that at least some ten or twelve per cent of the registered voters should go to the poll and record their votes in favour of a candidate. For unless this is done, we cannot get rid of the present separate representatives (as it were) and moreover the constituents themselves will be roused up by such an arrangement.

Speaking of the three years term of Chairmanship, we cannot but allude to the doggish persistence with which our Legislative Councillors (most of whom were Chairman of Municipalities and as such interested as pointed out by His Excellency Lord Willingdon himself who quoted his own English county parallels of yearly elections) worked to alter the annual election of Chairmanship which was then passed to the present three years' term which just came to force.

Once more and finally I repeat the burden of my song that the existing, old, luke-warm and indifferent but ever-recurring members holding honorary offices must be made to give place to new and future members with fresh blood and nimble spirit and who would enter upon their public activities with noble zest and enthusiasm.

Buddha Gaya to the Buddhists.

By G. Harischandra Rao.

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress passed the following resolution at Bombay (Swarajya of 5—2—23):—

"Resolved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be authorised to investigate the proposal of placing the custody of Buddha Gaya temple in Buddhist hands and to make a report to this Committee. Babu Rajendra Prasad is empowered to accept suitable persons in investigations."

If the members had ever a grain of common sense in them, they could have easily seen that a matter so distinctly religious should safely be left alone. One's heart burns with indignation when one observes persons, knowing, not even the a, b, c, of politics or religion, in the role of dictators. I think that, if the Congress persists in this course of meddling with religion, it will surely deserve some drastic treatment; for the Congress has nothing to do with this temple or that; its business is purely political. When even political questions have caused serious differences between man and man, would it not be highly impolitic to complicate the situation by the introduction of religious controversies into the Congress camp? It is foolish to hope that we could ever unify the peoples of India by unifying their different religions on a common political platform, or even by reforming them there; any such attempt will on the other hand destroy the spirit of co-operation that exists among the people for political purposes.

Now, the temple should be held by the Hindus, because they worship Lord Buddha as God incarnate, while Buddhism, not recognizing the creator, does not allot such a high place to Buddha. Moreover, the fundamental principle of Buddha, namely, that of non-violence or *ahimsa*, has been followed to a greater extent by the Hindus of India than by the Buddhists of China, Japan, or Ceylon, where meat-eating is freely resorted to and was frequently advocated and practised. The following from Gita Govinda of Jaya Deva will show India's veneration for lord Buddha and India's regard for the doctrine of non-violence (Sarga 1; song 9):—

"निन्दसि यज्ञविधेरहह श्रुतिजातम् ।
सदयहृदय दर्शितपशुघातम् ।
केशव धृतबुद्धशरीर जय जगदीश हरे ॥"

(Thou, O kind hearted one !, denouncest, I wonder, the collection of Vedic texts that enjoin sacrifices involving the slaughter of animals. O Kesava, incarnate as Buddha, triumph, O Hari, Lord of the universe!) Wonder, because one appears to denounce one's own work, the Vedas having been originally revealed by the Lord himself; and denunciation, because his heart overflowing with kindness has, as it were, submerged his intellect.

Hindus, I may add, have understood Buddha aright; they have therefore nothing to say against his religion. But Buddhism as reported and interpreted by those who call themselves Buddhists is, I am afraid, at variance with what he actually preached and implied. Swami Vivekananda said as follows at the Parliament of Religions in America (Mayavati memorial edition, Vol. I., P. 19.):—

"I am not a Buddhist, as you have heard, and yet I am. If China, or Japan, or Ceylon follows the teachings of the Great Master, India worships Him as God incarnate on earth. You have just now heard that I am going to criticise Buddhism, but by that I wish you understand only this. Far be it from me to criticise Him whom I worship as God incarnate on earth. But our views about Buddha are that he was not understood properly by his disciples."

Moreover, Gaya is the place where offerings are particularly made to the departed souls, so much so that even when a *sraddha* is performed at some other town in India the hope is expressed that the result may be the same as that when the ceremony is performed at Gaya itself—*Gayayam dattam astu*—even as one who bathes elsewhere remembers the Ganges and fervently prays that the bath may be blessed with the efficacy of a bath in the waters of the Ganges herself.

Again, in vain did the Rajputs fight, in vain did they sacrifice their lives and property, in order to free Gaya invested by fanatical Mussalmans in medieval times, if it were now to be surrendered to other religionists; for just as the Christians sent out expedition after expedition to recover places associated with the birth of Christanity, so did the valiant Rajaputs had many a compaign for the recovery of Gaya.

It originally belonged to the Buddhists, our opponents may say. Palestine is the birthplace of Christianity and as such it must be restored to the Christian nations of the world: how can there be any clamouring for the retention of that country in the hands of a non-Christian people, namely, the Turkish nation? Arabia, the seat of the Arabian prophet, must be given over to the Arabs; why should the Congress insist that Arabia should be under the sway of a non-Arabian nation? As for Constantinople, it, as its title indicates, had nothing to do with Mohammed or his religion before Mussalman inundation. If therefore, the congressmen admit that all these places may legitimately be under Turkish sovereignty, why should they not accept that Buddha Gaya is legitimately in the hands of Hindus? Historians say that some temples at Benares and other places were transformed into mosques; and are our reformers prepared to order their restoration to Hindus? If not, let there be no more talk of handing Buddha Gaya over to the Buddhists. Again, Magadha was the seat of Buddhists in ancient times, and so must be given over to some Buddhist power like China or Japan! Why almost, the whole of India came into the vortex of Buddhism at one time or another and so, must be placed at the disposal of some powerful Buddhist nation! Are our reformers ready to pass a resolution to that effect?

If by this move they hope to win the support of some oriental nation professing Buddhism, they are sadly mistaken; for materialism is quickly spreading into China and Japan, so that the people of those countries are no more attached to Buddha or his religion than the illustrious members of the Working Committee are attached to Hinduism or even to Buddha or Buddhism; no concessions, therefore, in religion could win the support of China or Japan at the present time; these two countries are Buddhistic in religion; what, however, are the relation between the two? The truth is that the congressmen concerned have no belief either in God or in his temples and so, it is immaterial to them whether such an important place of worship as Buddha Gaya is managed by Hindus or Buddhists. Most

probably they hope that when that stronghold is broken by transference to others, idolatrous Hinduism is to some extent broken. People blame men like Muhamed of Gazni as breakers of idols, not knowing that there are worse iconoclasts in our midst. Those personages were at least sincere in their words and actions whereas these are not. I venture to propose that the palatial houses of wealthy congresswallahs should be dedicated to the cause of Buddhism! Perhaps, the reformers say that provision will be made for the convenience of Hindus in the scheme, when the Buddha Gaya temple is transferred to the Buddhists. I too promise that adequate accomodation will be made for our cultured congressmen! In conclusion, genuine pilgrims from Japan and other countries may conveniently visit Buddha Gaya as before; the Imperial Gazetteer, Vol III, of 1885 wrote thus–"The celebrated bodhi drum or tree of wisdom has long ago disappeared; but a lineal descendant of the famous fig is now within the courtyard of the great temple, and is reverenced as the sacred tree itself both by Hindus, and Buddhists, many of the latter coming from Nepal, Arakan, Burma, and Ceylon on pilgrimage to the holy spot." (p. 125).

President Wilson.

Why he Failed.

"In the time of exalted emotion before the war closed President Wilson had been accepted by the people of the nations as a veritable prophet, and his words had become a living force.......In Italy, during the fall of that year (1918), I had seen extra-ordinary evidences of this feeling. The President's pictures were in every window. I was even told, in that time of exaggerated speech, that the peasants in some parts of Italy set candles to burn before them. His 'sculptured words' I saw at Turin emblazoned on every kiosk; his name was on every tongue. Hope lay in America."

A few months were to pass and in the same Italy the American Embassy had to be protected by troops against the feared insults of the mob. And everywhere it was the same; the enthusiastic plaudits which greeted the President in Paris and in London in December, 1918, gave way to cold criticism and veiled hostility before six months had passed. Never has the proverbial change from popular applause been so rapid; never has a hero of the peoples fallen so quickly from his pedestal.

The record and analysis of this change are the subject of Mr. Baker's work,* which is, since M. Tardieu's book "La Paix," much the most important publication which has yet appeared on the Paris Conference; and it owes its importance, as did M. Tardieu's work, to the fact that the author has had access to a large amount of unpublished material of the highest value. President Wilson apparently handed over to him, entirely without any restrictions as to its use, all the material which he brought away from Paris; and this includes not only his own notes, memoranda, and other American records, but the whole of the minutes of the Council of Ten and the Council of Four which, especially the latter, had hitherto been kept strictly secret.

It is on these that the narrative is based, and in the third volume, which was published some time after the other two, we have a large number of important documents reprinted. Among them we may mention a very valuable collection of the different drafts of the League of Nations, papers which will enable the reader for the first time to work out the real history of the Reparation problem, and a number of documents dealing with the Italian question, which bulks largely in the book; among these latter are two very brilliant and characteristic memoranda by Mr. Balfour. We notice one extra ordinary blunder: Mr. Lloyd George's well known memorandum of March 25 on the general policy of the Peace Conference is attributed to General Bliss; this is obviously not merely a printer's error, for passages of it are quoted as showing that General Bliss was one of the few members of the Conference who "never lost his sense of perspective," and who saw "that there was grave danger of ruining the whole work of peace if the Conference should produce a treaty against which the mass of German opinion would at once revolt." Mr. Lloyd George's arguments, when fathered on General Bliss, meet, therefore, with the highest encomium; when similar arguments were used elsewhere by the Prime Minister, they are attributed by President Wilson and Mr. Baker to "funk." We will confess that this error, which can be detected, does not give us full confidence that there may not be similar errors latent in the use of other documents which, with our insufficient information, we cannot detect.

We are not here concerned with the propriety of President Wilson's action in allowing the use of strictly confidential papers which do not concern America alone. Every student of contemporary affairs will welcome the new information which we now have and recognise the importance of this volume. But we must also put on record that the treatment leaves much to be desired. The author who was at the head of the American Press Bureau in Paris, is first and foremost a journalist and the whole book illustrates the truth of the fact, of which we have recently had numerous instances, that it is very difficult for a journalist to write a book. Not only is the style throughout defaced by flashy vivaciousness and false energy which we accept in journalism, but the whole presentation of the case is perverted by a straining after effect, the reluctance to put together a narrative so constructed that it tells its own story, spasmodic effects to give dramatic value to events and actions which, seriously considered, have not the significance which is attributed to them.

In addition to this, the whole narrative shows a very strong bias. Mr. Baker writes as an enthusiastic admirer of the President's ideals; in this there would be few to differ from him. But this admiration extends also to his methods and procedure, and here he will find few to follow him. As he envisages it, the whole Conference was a struggle between the new and the old, the idealism of the President, and the sinister forces of the Old Diplomacy which eventually were to win the day. In his picture of the struggle he confuses throughout two perfectly different things—the great guiding principles of the future, self-determination and the League of Nations, and the methods by which these were to be attained. The fundamental blunder of the President in which he is slavishly followed by Mr. Baker, was that he believed he could get support by an appeal to the democracies of the world and use them to overcome the resistance which he anticipated from the Governments:—

"He drew the distinction strongly between the desires of Governments and of peoples. He wanted to be considered the representative not of Governments, but of peoples."

In the old days of autocratic Government, when the Monarchs considered the management of foreign policy their peculiar privilege, this distinction might have been legitimate: at the time when every Government in Europe was the elected representative of the people it became absurd. What indeed stood between President Wilson and success was not the Governments, which were the mere mouthpiece of popular will but the fact that he had failed to convert the mass of the people. Poland and Italy might applaud his principles, but they demanded Fiume and East Galicia. And if we recollect this we shall recognize how misleading is all the talk with which this book is filled of the contrast between the Old and the New Diplomacy. In truth there would have been much more hope of reasonable and moderate terms of peace had the decision rested entirely with the leaders in Paris, and had they been free from the constant apprehension that, if they pursued such a policy,

* "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement" Written from his unpublished and personal material. By Ray Stannard Baker. Three Volumes. (Heinemann. 54s. net.)

they would be disavowed by their Parliaments and peoples.

Again, we have the insistence that the new doctrines were essentially American:—

'He had come with American ideas and American principles, and he was face to face at last with the Old World, the problems of the Old World, the politicians of the Old World, the Diplomacy of the Old World.'

But might not President Wilson, and still more might not Mr. Baker, have recalled that there was nothing which the President had said which was not the re echo of European voices—the alliance of the peoples, government by consent of the governed, substitution of co-operation for rivalry? Might not the appeal have been made not merely that Europe should adopt what was put forward as a new gospel from America, but that she should continue to work along on the lines of the early apostles of the Revolution, of Beranger and Napoleon III., of Mazzini, of Cobden and Gladstone? Not only were the ideas in no way peculiarly American, but when the test came they were repudiated by the American people. On this point Mr. Baker speaks frankly and openly. Again and again he points out how much President Wilson's position was weakened by the absence of support from his own country. As he says in one place, the entire secret of the failure of Paris lay in this that there was 'no willingness to sacrifice anything, therefore no possibility of securing real or just settlements based upon co-operation. And this did not apply only to France and Great Britain; it applied also to America.'

For in truth, as he honestly shows, when it came to the point, no nation was firmer—was, we may say, even harsher—than America herself in refusing to surrender real or supposed national interests to the doctrine of self-renunciation. The Monroe Doctrine, racial equality, the assumption of serious responsibility for Turkey or Armenia, above all the throwing into the pool of financial settlement the European debts to America—on every one of these points the President, whatever his personal wishes might have been, was compelled by the public opinion of his own country to meet all requests with an uncompromising negative.

This is specially true about financial problems. While the American nation was foremost in the provision by private contributions of relief for the distressed areas of Europe, the Government consistently refused to help in the larger matter of re-establishing financial security in the only way in which it could have done so—namely by allowing European indebtedness to America to be brought into the settlement:—

"In short, while requiring the payment in full of Europe's debts to us, we were also demanding a removal of all economic barriers so that our unharmed and mighty private business interests could rush into every market. At the same time that we were arguing—and rightly arguing—that France and Great Britain abate exorbitant claims to reparation in order to bring about the common good of Europe, we dared not offer to abate anything for the common good of the world. We argued that Europe must co-operate and sacrifice in order to pay her debts to us—but we could offer nothing but postponement in return. In short, our policy, both as regards the League of Nations and the effort to secure co-operation in economic rehabilitation, has seemed to involve the abandonment of European nations to their difficulties while holding them to their obligations.

"In short, the Americans at Paris found themselves so far as these problems were concerned, travelling always in a vicious circle. We were arguing that Europe must put its house in order before the United States could or would help further. But Europe could not do this, argued the European leaders, without powerful American co-operation; for America had all the money and controlled, to a great extent, the economic resources of the world. In this vicious circle no co-operation without reform, no reform without co-operation, the arguments at Paris went round and round in weary reiteration—as they have gone on ever since in the haggling over efforts to get America into the Genoa Conference and the later Hague Conference."

But while the President did not get the support which he had anticipated from outside the Conference he failed to use the obvious methods to win the co-operation of his colleagues at Paris. Nothing shows better the truth of this than his whole treatment of what was of supreme importance—the procedure of the Conference. The French, as in duty bound, were ready at an early stage to propose a plan of action. The essence of the matter was that the Great Powers should proceed as rapidly as possible to determine in the form of preliminaries of peace the main outlines of the settlement with Germany. This is what every sensible man wanted. Every one could see that what the world above all needed was that the state of war should come to an end. Mr. Baker, and apparently also President Wilson, sees in this nothing more than a malign and sinister attempt to side-track the League of Nations. The height of absurdity is reached when he deals with Mr. Balfour's proposal in the middle of February that the different Commissions should be instructed to bring their work to an end as rapidly as possible in order that the main outlines of the peace should be determined. We have pages of suggestion and inquiry as to the reason of this action, which he deplores. Surely no explanation is wanted except the obvious one that it was the duty of the Conference to get on with the work for which it had been summoned that of making peace first of all with Germany—and that the world was suffering immeasurably through the continued delay. And for this delay no one was so much responsible as the President himself. Throughout he laboured under the misapprehension that rapid work in drafting the Treaty was prompted by jealousy of the League of Nations and would result in shelving it. Here again Mr. Baker adopts in an exaggerated form the errors of his chief. But he is unable to bring any evidence to support this theory. Any consideration of the Treaty itself would show how completely unfounded it is, for there is scarcely a chapter in it in which difficult points are not reserved for the decision and action of the League of Nations. This is the truest sanction for the League, it was impossible to make a treaty without it. And let it not be thought that these references to the League were purely of American origin.

Mr. Baker is very indignant at the whole treatment of the Turkish question, and not unnaturally, for all will be agreed that in regard to this, very serious errors were made. But again he quite fails to understand the mentality of others and the motives by which, for instance, the British Government was influenced. He begins his account by the statement that the Turkish Empire provided the great prize of the war, and dwelling on its material resources, he has a whole chapter, the heading of which is "The Turkish Empire as follows":—

"Turkey [he says] was by all odds the richest spoil of the war......Here were untouched deposits of oil, copper, silver, slate, vast riches in agricultural land easily within reach of the irrigation engineer. Here above all were large and industrious populations long inured to labour, which, given a suitable government, would immediately become great producers of wealth and creators of trade."

This element no doubt was present; but this was not the most important. It was not the Americans and President Wilson alone who were oppressed by the responsibilities of the work to be undertaken and the difficulties incident to creating an orderly and civilized government. Does he seriously think that those who advised the British Government were not greatly concerned about the well-being and good administration of the Arab territories which under any partition, would fall to the British share? And do not later events show that the supreme difficulty of the problem arose, not from the hope of booty, but from the consciousness of the enormous labour and expense which the responsibility for government would entail? Again, he seems to have come to the Turkish problem completely ignorant

of what had happened during the war except in so far as it had been precipitated in the secret treaties which are his bugbear. He says in one place that, in contrast with the Treaty of London, these had not arisen out of any pressure of military operations; he apparently does not know, and has not troubled to inform himself, as to the whole history of the British relations with the Arab chiefs during the war and the assistance afforded by them in the military operations against Turkey.

There are full and illuminating chapters on matters such as Communications, the Economic Commission, and Reparations; as to the latter, few will now be found to dispute the justice of tht criticisms of Mr. Lloyd George's attitude. On other matters the book is very deficient. There is practically nothing about the important and complicated matters arising out of the Treaty with Austria; and yet much of the work was done and the main principles determined before the President left Paris. Even more remarkable is the complete absence of any account of Poland. This is a matter on which we have already had very full revelation in one of M. Mermeix's volumes, which contains long verbatim extracts from the discussions in the Council of Four. The matter is of great importance with regard to President Wilson's whole position in Paris; for it is quite apparent that on this point Mr. Lloyd George fought strenuously for the full application of the President's own principles, and that his chief opponent was President Wilson himself. The full and interesting narrative which Mr. Baker gives us of the great struggle on the Italian claims assumes a very different aspect when we compare it with the struggle on points such as Danzig, Silesia and East Galicia. Those who compare the two as we are now able to do, are justified in asking whether the President was in fact in all cases an impartial interpreter of his own principles and in wondering why Mr. Baker has omitted from his record an episode of this kind.

The secret of President Wilson's weakness and the tragedy of the story lay in his loneliness. He had willing, loyal subordinates, but no colleague, even among his own people; for, as Mr. Baker shows us, even Colonel House began to fall away and he never succeeded in establishing really cordial co-operation with any of his European colleagues. Throughout the whole of this book we find no record of open and frank friendliness, even with those who worked as loyally for his own principles as he did himself. But there are only two methods of political success: the one is to control men by irresistible force, the other to use them as fellow-workers. The first was impossible; in the second he failed: and this is the reason why, as Mr. Lansing from the beginning saw, he would have had more influence had he remaind on the other side of the Atlantic and not entangled himself in the details of the Conference. But if this is so it is profoundly unjust, as Mr. Baker does, to throw the blame of the failure entirely on the representatives of the other nations.

—*'Times Literary Supplement.'*

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